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1. OPENING STATEMENT BY PROF. IBRAHIM A. GAMBARI, CHAIRMAN OF THE SYMPOSIUM AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

It is a great honour and privilege for me to welcome you all to this important Symposium on Political Tolerance in South Africa: the Role of Opinion-Makers and the Media. The Symposium is being jointly sponsored by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid in conjunction with two reputable organizations inside South Africa - the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD) and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (IDASA). The outstanding work and commitment of these two organizations to the cause of a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa are very well known to all. May I thank them on your behalf for the excellent preparations made for the symposium. Let me also state at the outset that this is the first time ever that the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid would, either alone or in conjunction with other organizations, hold such a function on the soil of South Africa. This, indeed, is an acknowledgement of the positive changes that have occurred in this country within the last three years.

That we are meeting in this beautiful city of Cape Town, so rich in history and culture, so hospitable and so determined in its commitment to a non-racial democracy in South Africa, is a good omen for our future work. I am very encouraged that so many prominent South African opinion-makers and media experts, academics and others have found it possible to join us in spite of their heavy schedules. I wish also to acknowledge the presence in our midst of the distinguished representatives of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the European Community to whom I wish to pay tribute for their steadfast commitment and work towards peace and reconciliation in South Africa.

Much has happened in South Africa over the past three years. In spite of threats of all sorts and, indeed, despite the senseless and continuing political violence, the negotiating process has moved forward, largely because of the wisdom, resilience and determination of the majority of political leaders, both Black and White, who have not allowed repeated provocations to derail the process. The Special Committee also believes that the unwavering support of the international community for the negotiated settlement of the conflict and the advent of a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa has played an important role in this complex crisis.

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It will be recalled in this connection that in December 1989, States Members of the United Nations adopted by consensus - the first time ever in the history of the Organization - a landmark Declaration on South Africa that drew up a broad framework for a just, peaceful and lasting settlement of the conflict. By the same token, they committed themselves, individually and collectively, to providing international safeguards that would assist in bringing the negotiating process to a successful end.

The Special Committee on its part has a long tradition of standing side-by-side with the oppressed South African people in their long and painful journey to freedom, justice and equality of opportunity for all. Just as the international community stood firm on the side of the vast majority of South Africans for decades in opposition to apartheid, it has remained resolutely on the side of the South African people in facilitating a smooth transition to a new, non-racial constitutional order in South Africa.

Following the request in 1992 by the African States to the United Nations Security Council to examine the issue of violence in South Africa and to take all appropriate action to put an end to it as well as to create conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition towards a democratic non-racial and united South Africa, the Security Council adopted resolution 772 (1992), which authorized the Secretary-General to deploy the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA). Observer missions from the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organization of African Unity are also in place to promote the peaceful settlement of the conflict in South Africa.

On my way to this country, I learned with great sadness of the massacre at the Saint James Church last Sunday. The Special Committee deplores this senseless act of violence and wishes to express its deepest sympathy to the relatives and friends of the victims of that vicious attack, as well as to the congregation as a whole. The Special Committee also wishes to once again appeal to all South Africans to think of their country's national interests and international image and give peace a chance to enable the establishment of a climate for reconciliation and political tolerance in their country.

Yesterday many Capetonians wore white ribbons to express their concern at the Saint James Church massacre on Sunday and in general, at the ongoing violence in South Africa, as well as to reaffirm their resolve to achieve a peaceful settlement in the country. It was also meant as a strong protest against criminal actions intended to derail the negotiating process. It is reassuring that the rallying for peace and reconciliation has

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become a permanent feature in the lives of many South Africans today even as horrible incidents of violence in the country continue to mar the irreversible momentum towards a negotiated settlement of the conflict in South Africa.

That the Committee decided to hold a Symposium on Political Tolerance in South Africa focused on opinion-makers and the media is no coincidence. It is, indeed, a measure of the Committee's determination to promote the core values that underpin the whole structure in a multi-party democracy, very specifically, the central concept and practice of political tolerance with all they entail in terms of mutual respect, respect for the political views and opinions of others, the right to agree and to disagree, the duty to allow political opponents the right to speak, associate and organize freely. They involve of necessity the obligation to partake in the social compact in full harmony with others and to work towards the common good.

It is perhaps appropriate to mention here, the words of wisdom contained in the address by Mr. Federico Mayor, Director-General of UNESCO, at the International Meeting of Experts on the Problems of Tolerance in Istanbul, 17 April 1993: "The conscious effort that has to be made to accept and appreciate otherness is also a road that has to be trodden in order to arrive at a democratic culture ... Democracy, which lends itself to the expression of diversity, is also a way of social functioning in which every citizen must follow absolutely the rule of listening and understanding."

Political tolerance, as it has evolved from constitutional theory and practice, since the 18th century, is a core value that not only keeps the social structure together but also enables it to function smoothly. It underlies the checks-and-balances system that makes it possible for individuals in society to act freely as responsible citizens, in full awareness of their rights and obligations. Political tolerance, in a word, is the catalyst that makes it possible for enlightened self-interest to subsume harmoniously within the larger collective interest of which it is as much a cause as a consequence.

Tolerance in its manifold manifestations is very much part of the African tradition, the tradition of African humanism which can explain to a large extent how we have come this far in the negotiating process, how the broad masses have overcome the strictures and confines of past suffering to throw their weight behind democratic and constitutional change. Without African forbearance and forgiveness - which are key components of tolerance - many of the successes scored by the South African people on the long road to freedom, justice and equality of opportunity for all would not have been possible.

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The concepts and practices of political tolerance, human rights and democracy are closely intertwined, as are the twin concepts of democracy and development. These interrelationships have been duly acknowledged by the United Nations and integrated in its programmes aimed at bringing about peace and reconciliation, fostering the on-going negotiating process and identifying ways in which members of the international community could assist in addressing the huge socio-economic inequalities resulting from decades of apartheid.

You will recall that last year, in Windhoek, the Special Committee organized a well-attended conference focusing the international attention on the huge socio-economic disparities of the country as well as on the ways and means to address them during the transition period, particularly in the critical areas of housing, education, employment and health. I am heartened to note that the exchange of views that took place in Windhoek among South African participants and their international counterparts have become central to international aid agencies, including the World Bank.

That twin concern of the Special Committee for political tolerance and the advent of a non-racial constitutional democracy on the one hand, and sustainable development on the other, are predicated on the strong conviction that the best democratic institutions are unlikely to last unless they rest on strong and sound socio-economic foundations and on tangible improvements in living conditions of the poorer segments of society.

We know that this conviction is widely shared in South Africa and abroad. Now that South Africa is set on an irreversible course towards a new, non-racial and democratic order with universal suffrage elections set for 27 April 1994 and a Transitional Executive Council to be established soon, it is more important than ever that we bring everything to bear to contain and defuse political violence, enhance a climate conducive to free and fair elections through dedicated media involvement aimed at making the broad masses, in the cities, in the townships and rural areas of South Africa more aware of their rights and obligations in a non-racial democracy. Who else is better equipped to initiate and carry out these campaigns than the distinguished South African opinion-makers and editors, publishers, academics, religious leaders and others that have assembled here today? Your access to the parties involved in the Multi-party Negotiating Forum (MPNF), your wise counsel and personal commitment to a new democratic and non-racial South Africa, can make a critical contribution in the months ahead.

Given your capability to reach out into the length and breadth of the country, opinion-makers and the media of South

Africa constitute probably the most effective channel available during this transitional period to monitor and report on the peace process, to persuade public opinion of the imperative of national reconciliation and to promote public understanding of crucial issues which affect the lives of every South African. For two days, you will exchange views on what to do and how to do it. Some of you already know each other. I hope that this will be an opportunity for all of us to get to know one another even better. But let us remember that the success of our common endeavours at this gathering will depend not only on the understanding we may reach here, but above all, on the follow-up action by opinion-makers and the media represented here and by others who will decide to join. It will depend also on what private foundations and non-governmental organizations in South Africa and abroad are prepared to do to spread the good word and promote tolerance, peace and reconciliation.

We, in the Special Committee, have no doubt that all men and women of good will in South Africa shall respond to the call. We know that, somehow, South Africans will find within themselves the strength and resolve to rise above their differences and forge a common future. As we were with them on the long and arduous journey to freedom and justice for all, so shall we remain with them at this critical time of transition until success is achieved.

Let us all remember that a new, non-racial South Africa could only be sustained if it has a solid foundation of respect for fundamental human rights that encompasses a willingness to coexist with differences, a culture of respect for the rule of law, drawn up for the protection of all its citizens and applied equally to all of its citizens, as well as the provision for equal opportunities for the economic and social well-being of all. And to paraphrase the words of the Director-General of UNESCO, Mr. Federico Mayor, South Africans would need to express the unanimous resolve in the face of contemporary crises and it must not be just a rejection of intolerance but a powerful affirmation of the value of tolerance itself, and of the values with which tolerance is closely linked: democracy, human rights and solidarity.

Because of its resource endowment and its seasoned leadership, both Black and White, and because of its suffering too, South Africa has much to contribute to Africa and to the world. We look forward to the time when South Africa, reconciled with itself, can forge ahead with confidence as a full partner in the international community.

2. SUMMARY OF THE STATEMENT BY MS. ANGELA KING, CHIEF-OF-MISSION, UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The United Nations has been involved with the affairs of South Africa for more than four decades. It spearheaded the campaign against the apartheid system through several initiatives aimed at alleviating the sufferings of the victims of apartheid. Among them was the decision to establish, in November 1962, the Special Committee against Apartheid which was a co-sponsor of this important event. The most recent initiative of the United Nations was the decision of the Secretary-General to deploy, as a matter of urgency, United Nations Observers in South Africa following the adoption of resolution 772 (1992) by the Security Council to help bring an effective end to public violence and intimidation, to assist in creating a conducive climate for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and united South Africa and to support the peace structures - the Goldstone Commission, the National Peace Committee (NPC), the National Peace Secretariat (NPS), and the 100 local peace committees throughout the country.

In this context, the decision of the organizers was welcome to focus attention on the urgent need for a sustained dialogue on basic democratic concepts and principles that should be understood and accepted by any society that embarked on the path of democracy. This was particularly so in South Africa, where decades of apartheid, with its legacy of distrust, have made the search for a democratic solution to complex problems extremely difficult.

The situation was compounded by the almost total absence in South Africa of a culture of political tolerance and compromise. It was difficult if not impossible to talk of democracy where there was intolerance. A point had been reached in South Africa where communities were divided into "no-go areas" for supporters of rival political organizations; where there was a deep lack of trust and confidence in the security forces; and where the ready availability of weapons of all kinds and particularly of licensed and unlicensed firearms contributed to highly volatile situations.

For over ten months, the team of 50 United Nations observers had witnessed over 8,500 events. Of these, some were dramatic, such as the assassination, memorial and funeral of Mr. Chris Hani; activities and statements of militant right-wingers, including statements of some who vowed to wage war if certain political organizations were to come to power; and the invasion of the World Trade Centre by supporters of right-wing groups who disrupted the work of the negotiators who were laying the

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foundation of a new and democratic South Africa. A change in the nature of violence was observed in the desecration of a church and the shocking loss of lives in the townships of Natal, Witwatersrand and Cape Town. Equal concern was aired at the assassinations of soft-targets - women, children, whether White or Black, elderly White farmers and their families - claimed by left-wing elements. Devastated and traumatized children were left without parents, homes or solace in Natal and the East Rand.

Probably the most important and intractable sources of violence were to be found in the lack of tolerance and in the appalling socio-economic conditions under which the majority of Black people lived. Unless those and other equally burning issues were openly and objectively discussed and peacefully resolved with a spirit of tolerance and understanding, it would be difficult to see free and fair elections be held and a free political society exist in a new South Africa. It was widely accepted that one of the main prerequisites for a free, political society was a free, balanced news media.

In South Africa, after years of repression, people were desperately hungry for information, the free exchange of ideas and opinions through newspapers, magazines, radio, television and other means of mass communication. Reporters, photographers and sound people who have risked their lives reporting on incidents in violent areas had to be saluted. Many of them had been injured and killed in the past few months.

Since with freedom would come responsibility, the media and media makers could not stand aside merely reporting "the facts". The news media sometimes reported events which might provoke and sell news but which assisted political leaders to conduct verbal onslaughts among themselves which served to inflame their followers further. Instead, the media needed to report on positive events and processes that were working on the ground. Many newspapers throughout the country were reporting on positive events under the National Peace Accord and outside such as the community of Mpumalanga in Natal and the Hostel Peace Pact signed in Johannesburg by 32 hostels. The Star, The Argus and the Daily Dispatch, for example, now carried a regular column on the Accord.

This was of crucial importance particularly as elections were approaching. If people were to understand and be involved with issues that concerned them and how their lives would be affected by decisions that were taken by politicians and various forums on their behalf, then there was a need for the media and opinion-makers to play a decisive role by, among other things, simplifying and explaining, particularly in the African languages, basic democratic concepts and principles related to

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such matters as voter education and identification, the right of assembly and free political expression, why there were different political organizations and ideologies, what was happening at the National Party Negotiations and above all, why it was necessary not to look at other people as political enemies, but as fellow human beings who might have different ideas and opinions.

While participants in the Symposium aimed to chart the way forward for institutions and mechanisms that promote the free exchange of ideas, opinions and information in a democratic South Africa, the Symposium and its outcome could not but be of major impact on the events which would unfold in South Africa particularly in the next nine months, the gestation period for the first democratic elections.

3. SUMMARY OF PANEL DISCUSSIONS

PANEL I:

The educational potential of print and electronic media: mechanisms for consultation on agreed criteria for media education on fundamental values in the democratic process

Moderator: Dr. Oscar Dhlomo

Panellists: Dr. Guy Berger, Prof. Wilhelm Johann de Klerk, Ms. Nomavenda Mathiane, Dr. Billy Modise, Mr. Sipho Ngobese, Mr. Freek Robinson, Ms. Judy Sandison, Ms. Karen Stander

Participants in Panel I recognized the crucial importance of political tolerance in fostering a culture of democracy. They agreed that tangible steps were needed to be taken to promote political tolerance. However, there was no consensus on how the promotion of tolerance could be tackled through the media. It was perhaps understandable given the fact that media function in different environments and cater to different social categories of readers. Nevertheless some smaller newspapers were already performing an educative role in cooperation with certain non-governmental organizations. One example was South which runs MPD and Matla Trust educational programmes. City Press and Ilanga have also carried some educational material on democracy.

Participants expressed the view that the electronic media (radio and television) seemed to fully accept an educational role for democracy. In some regions radio was already performing this role; for example Radio Zulu. There was a feeling that the media could also play an educative role in translating and "decoding" some constitutional and political concepts, which were taken for

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granted by journalists, but were more difficult to comprehend for the majority of the people they wanted to reach. It was important to recognize that political leaders needed to be encouraged to address their audiences in a language they could understand.

The media should support and promote peace structures - given the rise in the level of violence. It was revealed that this violence has spilled over to most sectors of the South African society, including to journalists themselves. Instances were recounted where journalists had been harassed and even murdered.

The role of SABC in promoting voter education was highlighted by the participants. There was a feeling that it would be advisable for SABC not to undertake that task single-handedly but rather to cooperate fully with or leave it to independent and non-partisan non-governmental organizations. In this context, the United Nations was called upon to share its valuable resources with South African media on issues such as the period of transition and the role of the media in such circumstances.

On the whole, participants felt that the Symposium did achieve its objectives. It focused on the need to promote tolerance, it discussed possible strategies for achieving that through the media and it received an assurance that, through the United Nations, more information on the problems of transition and the role of the media would be made available.

PANEL II:

Media reporting on political events, actions and pronouncements, and its impact on the viability of a pluralistic society; effectiveness of, and propossals for, voluntary measures of encouragement and restraint

Moderator: Dr. Alex Boraine

Panellists: Dr. Antonie Gildenhuys, Ms. Yvonne Grimbeck, Mr. R. W. Johnson, Mr. S. Khala, Mr. Raymond Louw, Mr. San Reddy, Mr. Allister Sparks, Mr. Lester Venter

Participants in panel II made recommendations on the reporting of political events, on the effectiveness of media reporting, and on the issue of voter education. Participants recalled that South Africa was not the first and would not be the last country going through a transition from authoritarianism to democracy. South Africa, therefore, could and should learn from

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others. Participants appealed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid to assist in supplying relevant information as a matter of urgency.

Participants resolved that the media should not only avoid simplistic reporting, thereby implying a "quick fix", but also avoid sensationalism and hype. Circulation figures should not be the sole criterion for deciding on presentation of news. Balanced, in-depth contextual reporting should be the objective of both the print and electronic media. "Grey, bland, falsely optimistic journalism" should as much be avoided as the formula "don't worry - be happy".

Inevitably, the media would reflect society, but should attempt to reflect "all the news". Bad news came knocking at the door, but often good news had to be sought out. Journalists should spend less time in their offices on the telephone and the fax machine and more time in the streets, in the townships and amongst the people. There was a general consensus among participants that the media should seek to create a culture of tolerance and peace - not an artificial peace, but the creation of a mood through comment, editorials, leader page articles as well as programmes on radio and television.

It was generally accepted by the participants that the media had remarkable opportunities to reach millions of readers, listeners and viewers which would place upon them a special responsibility over and above that of ordinary citizens. In that context, participants underlined that the media must be much more aware of developments in South Africa as a whole than they have been in the past. Attention should be given to the language and the idiom of reporting. The majority of South Africans were not sophisticated urban dwellers, English or Afrikaans speaking. Radio had a special responsibility in that regard and was potentially extremely powerful, bearing in mind that for many it was the only link to the larger world beyond their farming community, rural village and sprawling squatter camps.

Participants agreed also that the media should avoid fulsome praise of any or all the major players in the time of difficult transition. It should also avoid bias and partiality. Many participants felt that the media ought to be a lot tougher on political leaders, provided that it was consistent. The media should give credit where it was deserved and censure where it was appropriate. An example of this was the crucial role of the police and credit and censure should be apportioned equally.

Whilst the media should not be asked to accept the full responsibility for voter education, it could by its very nature be critically important in reaching large numbers of people. It

was noted by the participants that whilst much had already been done, much more would be demanded of the media in this regard. In particular, the SABC, through its large viewership and in particular listenership, had a special responsibility. The impression so far was that there was a great deal of confusion as to who must accept responsibility for programmes. It was stressed that because of the historical credibility gap, the SABC should involve as many organizations as possible that have expertise and resources in this field. It was reported that a special sub-committee had been set up by the new SABC board, which would give urgent attention to this matter and, hopefully, communicate some specific action plan to the general public.

In conclusion, participants stressed that whilst many of them were working within the world of journalism, print and electronic, they were aware of their responsibilities, but that a considerable task appeared ahead which would require more focus. Continued news on killings almost every day were a sombre reminder of the need for all South Africans to give their commitment to working more urgently towards a less violent and, thus, a more peaceful and tolerant society.

4. CLOSING STATEMENT BY PROF. IBRAHIM A. GAMBARI, CHAIRMAN OF THE SYMPOSIUM AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

For two and a half days, intensive deliberations have taken place at this Symposium on Political Tolerance. We hope they have helped in contributing to the debate on the critical and pressing issues concerning the role of South African opinion-makers and the media in covering and facilitating the transition to a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa. At a time when South Africa is preparing in earnest for universal suffrage elections set for April next year, the critical issues of political tolerance and reconciliation, which lie at the very core of a constitutional democracy, assume greater significance than ever before.

The role that opinion-makers and the media can play in living up to their responsibilities and duties was rightly highlighted at the Symposium by various media experts, prominent journalists and publishers who have decided to join us in spite of their heavy schedules and commitments. That they have joined us is not one of the lesser achievements of the Symposium. In a fast-changing world, in a South Africa at grips with complex difficulties, it was timely that the press, opinion-makers, men and women of conscience, who had proven their commitment to the well-being of their country and indeed to the well-being of all

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its inhabitants, should reflect on their role in the nine months preceding the elections.

There were areas of agreement as well as areas of disagreement. Some issues were left open for future debate. We are happy to have provided the participants with an environment and arrangements which have admittedly facilitated their work. Panel discussions were indeed open to all and we hope that the useful work done by the panels will, in the days ahead, lead to or reinforce a public debate on the issues raised and on the contribution that the South African opinion-makers and media as well as the international press can make to support the ongoing negotiating process, through responsible and balanced reporting without sacrificing principles and ethics of their profession as well as their overall responsibilities to the society as a whole.

Be that as it may, the opinion-makers and the media whose heroic role in maintaining their independence and integrity in support of human rights is not forgotten, and indeed the South African people at large may rest assured that the international community, within the fold of the United Nations, will stand by their side, just as it had stood with them during the long years of struggle for peace, justice, and equality of opportunities for all in South Africa.

The arrangements for this Symposium were deliberately made so as to demonstrate that this was indeed a Symposium by South Africans and for South Africans. The presence in your midst of the Special Committee against Apartheid is simply to serve as a catalyst for the deliberation of the Symposium. As you all know, the Special Committee against Apartheid has played a critical role, inter alia, in forging within the United Nations a common platform, known as the Declaration on South Africa adopted in December 1989 by consensus for the first time in the history of the United Nations, which provides to this day the framework and principles within which a just, long-lasting and peaceful settlement of the conflict in South Africa could be achieved.

This platform is also important because it provides the international safeguards to bring the negotiating process to a successful end. Through a variety of ways and means available to them, and since 1989 when the Declaration was adopted, Member States, individually and collectively, have lived up to their commitments.

While the road ahead in South Africa is still fraught with danger, it is important that through responsible and balanced reporting, the South African and especially the international press should become part of the solution and not part of the problem.

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May I simply recall at this stage that, as soon as an agreement is obtained on the Transitional Executive Council and on an Interim Government of National Unity, the enormous economic and social imbalances resulting from decades of apartheid will have to be attended to most urgently.

We all know that the media, and television networks in particular, can induce social and political changes as well as a propitious or adverse business climate. While radical changes are taking place world-wide, affecting the very structure of current international relations and the very social fabric of every nation, it is perhaps necessary for members of the media to take a second look at the traditional ways in which they have worked - a traditional way, may I hasten to say, which has unquestionably proven its worth through its integrity and independence in sustaining multiparty democracies solidly implanted throughout the world. Nevertheless, in a changing world, in which every facet of life in every nation has been affected, it is permissible to conceive that the press can voluntarily take on a changing role commensurate with the new challenges the world is facing today.

The participants of the Symposium have touched upon these various ideas which, we hope, will contribute to the national and international debate on the subject. Taking advantage of the participation of the Special Committee against Apartheid in this Symposium, the first ever co-sponsored on South African soil - and this is a sign of the times - participants have requested that the United Nations, which is so rich in experience with regard to, inter alia, societies in transition, election monitoring as well as the role of the media in fostering political and economic pluralism, should provide South African non-governmental organizations with documents, protocols, legal instruments and other information material available to it. It is my pleasure, and indeed, my duty upon return to United Nations Headquarters, to see to it that the documents are forwarded to you.

It is also a sign of the times that South Africans, long confined within the limits of their territory, are seeking to learn more from the experiences of other countries and from the rich and vast experience accumulated by organs and agencies of the United Nations, now that a new non-racial and democratic South Africa is emerging on the international horizon. It is also an indication that perhaps the time is not too far away when South Africa will be welcomed again as a full-fledged partner in the international community.

I am confident that, once South Africa has overcome its present difficulties, it will have much to offer to Africa and to

the world, not only in terms of its economic potential but also in terms of the rich experience it has itself accumulated and also because of the common suffering of its people and their ability to rise above their differences, which will set them as an example of how the most difficult social and human relations can be amended and improved to general satisfaction. While we witness with horror the resurgence of racial and other forms of discrimination in many parts of the world, a great lesson could be learnt from the South African experiment once it has overcome the last hurdles on its way to a non-racial constitutional order.

My colleagues, Dr. Alex Boraine, the Executive Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, and Dr. Oscar Dhlomo, the Executive Chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, to whose competence and foresight I would like to pay tribute, will deal more specifically with the proceedings of the two panels in which the work of the Symposium effectively took place. That is why I have deliberately refrained from getting into the substantial work accomplished by the panels and the very fruitful exchange of views that took place there.

By way of conclusion, I would like to point out that by coming to this beautiful and hospitable South African shore and discussing the critical issues of tolerance and reconciliation that are at the very core of the current debate in South Africa, the Special Committee wanted to reiterate that the concerns of the South African people were its own concerns and that just as it had stood with them for decades, it still stands with them today.

5. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Bureau of the Symposium

Prof. Ibrahim A. Gambari
Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid; Chairman of the Symposium

Dr. Oscar Dhlomo
Executive Chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy; Co-Chairman of the Symposium and Moderator of Panel I

Dr. Alex L. Boraine
Executive Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa; Co-Chairman of the Symposium and Moderator of Panel II

/...

Mr. N.A. Abrous
Assistant Director of the Centre against Apartheid;
Secretary of the Symposium

United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid

Member States

Prof. Ibrahim A. Gambari (NIGERIA)

Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (NIGERIA)

Observers

Mr. Tebogo Mafole (African National Congress of South Africa)

Dr. Dabi Khumalo (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania)

International peace observer missions in South Africa

United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa

Ms. Angela King, Chief-of-Mission

Ms. Betty Ann Russell, Observer

Commonwealth Observer Group in South Africa

Ms. Colleen Lowe Morna, Chief Programme Officer

South African opinion-makers and the media*

Mr. Eric Apelgren
Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD)

Dr. Alex L. Boraine
Executive Director, Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA)

Dr. Guy Berger
Editor, South

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* Invited in their individual capacity.

Mr. C. Breytenbach
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

Mr. Josias Charle
Deputy President, South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ)

Prof. Wilhelm Johann de Klerk
Communications Science, Rand Afrikaans University

Prof. Johan Degenaar
Department of Philosophy, University of Stellenbosch

Dr. Oscar Dhlomo
Executive Chairman, MPD

Mr. Max du Preez
Editor, Vrye Weekblad

Prof. Gerhard Erasmus
Law Faculty, University of Natal

Mr. Alan Fine
Assistant Editor, Business Day

Dr. Antonie Gildenhuys
Chairman, National Peace Secretariat, Member, SABC Board

Mr. Eric Gqabaza
News Editor, IMVO Newspaper

Ms. Yvonne Grimbeek
President, SAUJ

Mr. Derrick Hlomuka
Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA)

Mr. R.W. Johnson
MPD

Ms. Koosum Kalyan
Manager of External Affairs, Shell South Africa Pty. Ltd.

Mr. Narandran Kollapen
National Projects Director, Lawyers for Human Rights

Ms. Antjie Krog
Editor, Die Suid Afrikaan

Mr. Rashid Lombard
Photojournalist/Editor, Trans Africa News and

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Information Services (TANIS)

Mr. Raymond Louw
Editor/Publisher, Southern Africa Report

Ms. Nomavanda Mathiane
Broadcaster, Capital Radio

Mr. Mandla Mchunu
National Street Law and Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Law School, University of Natal

Mr. Ignatius Mdadane
Editor of Religion, UMAFRIKA

Mr. Joe Mdhlela
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Programme Manager, MPD

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Executive Director, Matla Trust

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Deputy Editor, City Press

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Political Correspondent, The Argus

Mr. Ricky Naidoo
Media Manager, MPD

Mr. Louis Nel
Reporter, Die Burger

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MPD, National Women's Resource Service Centre, National Women's Coalition

Mr. Sipho Ngobese
Journalist, ILANGA

Mr. John Orr
Broadcaster, Radio South Africa

Mr. Ken Owen
Editor, The Sunday Times

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Producer, Radio Bophuthatswana

Mr. Freek Robinson
Editor/Presenter, Current Affairs/Agenda
South Afica Braodcasting Corporation (SABC)

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Black Sash, Network of Independent Monitors (NIM)

Ms. Judy Sandison
Editor, Natal Broadcast

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Vice President, Human Sciences Research Council

Mr. Nathaniel Sefara
MWASA

Mr. David L. Smith
Head of Programmes, Capital Radio

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Executive Director, Institute for the Advancement of Journalism

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Editor-in-Chief, The Star

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Vice Rector, University of Zululand

Prof. John van Zyl
Applied Broadcasting Centre, Witwatersrand University

Mr. Lester Venter
Political Correspondent, SABC

Ms. Sylvia Vollenhoven
Director, Public Broadcasting Institution

Mr. David Wightman
Editor, Sunday Tribune

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Other invitees

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Consultant, Southern Africa Educational Trust Fund
(SAETF, Canada)

Mr. G. Collins
Journalist, TANIS

Mr. S. S. de Swardt
Chief Executive, Magazines, Nasionale Pers Ltd.

Mr. Peter Dennehy
Reporter, Cape Times

Ms. Kyra Eberle
Director, United States Information Service (USIS)

Mr. Obi Emekekwue
Editor, News Agency of Nigeria

Ms. Lesley Fordred
Western Cape Peace Committee

Dr. Amanda Gouws
Political Science, University of Stellenbosch

Mr. Tofeeq Hargey
Human Resources Manager, HMR Computers

Mr. A.H. Heard
Freelance Journalist

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Ms. Gemma Hooley
Public Affairs Assistant, USIS

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Regional Development Association, Western Cape

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Journalist, TANIS

Ms. Rhoda Kadalie
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Mr. S. Khala
General Secretary, MWASA

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Regional Coordinator, Matla Trust

Mr. Noby Ngombane
MPD

Mr. Retief Olivier
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Mr. M.E. Overmeyer
Media Officer, African National Congress

Mr. Glenn Pratt
Programme Officer, MPD

Mr. John Richards
Journalist, Radio South Africa

Mr. Richard Rosenthal
Legal Consultant

Mr. David Schmidt
Regional Coordinator, IDASA

Mr. J. H. van Deventer
Chief Executive, Newspapers, Nasionale Pers Ltd.

Mrs. Anna van Wyk
Media Desk, National Party

Mr. Dirk J. Visser
Acting Director, Regional Development Advisory Committee

Mr. Jasper Walsh, MP
Regional Chairperson, Democratic Party

Dr. James Wunsch
USIS